

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, UN

SUBJECT: THIRD SSOD PREPCOM: FIRST APPROACHES TO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

REF: USUN 2843

SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO TAKING PROCEDUREAL/ORGANIZATIONAL DECISIONS (REFTEL), SOME PREPCOM DELEGATIONS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN PRELIMINARY INFORMAL DRAFTING EXERCISES IN ADVANCE OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ON SSOD DOCUMENTS AT NEXT PREPCOM SESSION, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1978. DELEGATIONS ALSO HAVE BEEN EXCHANGING INFORMAL VIEWS ON THE FUNCTIONS AND PURPOSES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, INDICATING DIVERGENCES BETWEEN THOSE WHO SUPPORT DAMAGE-LIMITING APPROACH AND THOSE WHO VIEW IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO STUMULATE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS ALSO DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE FOLLOW-ON ACTIVITY, IE, A WDC OR ANOTHER SSOD END SUMMARY.

1. IN ADDITION TO PLENARY SESSIONS DELEGATIONS TO THE THIRD SSOD PREPCOM HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN BILATERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONSULTATIONS, MEETINGS OF REGIONAL GROUPS AND PRELIMINARY DRAFTING EXERCISES TO SET THE STAGE FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE WORK WHICH WILL BE UNDERTAKEN EARLY NEXT YEAR.

2. ACTIVITIES OF THE REGIONAL GROUPS: ANSTAFF DRAFTING EXERCISE HAS DEVELOPED WITHIN THE BARTON GROUP, AN INFORMAL BODY OF MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES PLUS JAPAN. THIS EFFORT IS

ENGAGED IN DEVELOPING A WORKING DRAFT TEXT ON THE DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT. NO DECISION HAS YET BEEN TAKEN AS TO WHETHER THIS WILL BE CIRCULATED BY SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BARTON GROUP AT THIS SESSION, THOUGH THIS SEEMS LIKELY. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THIS TEXT WOULD BE MERELY ONE INPUT ON THE DECLARATION, AND THE THOUGHT BEHIND THE EFFORT IS TO INFLUENCE NON-ALINNED THINKING BETWEEN CURRENT SUSSION AND JANUARY PREPCOM. US DEL BELIEVES TEXT, WHEN PRODUCED, SHOULD BE CIRCULATED AS DRAFT OF A FEW COUNTRIES, NOT INCLUDING US. BELIEVE THIS WILL ENABLE US TO RETAIN GREATER LEVERAGE IN FUTURE DISCUSSIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED. WE WILL TRANSMIT DRAFT TEXT AS SOON AS COMPLETED.

3. THE SOVIETS CIRCULATED DRAFTS ON THE DECLARATION AND THE PROGRAM OF ACTION TO THE US, NORWAY AND YUGOSLAVIA FOR REACTIONS AND COMMENTS, THEY HAVE NOW GIVEN US DEL REVISED TEXTS RESULTING FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES (COPIES POUCED TO IO/UNP AND ACDA/R). IT IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT WHETHER THEY INTEND TO INTRODUCE THESE DOCUMENTS AS FORMAL WORKING PAPERS AT THIS SESSION.

4. THE NON-ALIGNED ARE WORKING ON A SECOND DRAFT TO SUPPLEMENT THE PAPER INTRODUCED BY SRI LANKA AT THE SECOND PREPCOM (A/AC.187/55). THEY APPARENTLY HAVE RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING AGREEMENT WITHIN THE GROUP ON A REVISED TEXT. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE NON-ALIGNED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WILL INTRODUCE A PAPER AT THIS SESSION.

5. VIEWS ON THE SPECIAL SESSION: AN INFORMAL CONSENSUS HAS BEEN REACHED ON DURATION OF SSOD, FROM MAY 23 TO JUNE 28. THERE ARE TWO EMERGING SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. SOME ENVISAGE SSOD AS INVOLVING ONLY GENERAL DEBATE AND THE ADOPTION OF DOCUMENTS. THE ASSUMPTION OF THESE DELEGATIONS IS THAT AS THE RESULT OF THE WORK OF THE JANUARY AND APRIL PREPCOM SESSIONS, THE DRAFTING OF THE DOCUMENTS AND THEIR APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE VIRTUALLY COMPLETED BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OPENS. OTHERS BELIEVE THE SSOD WILL HAVE A LARGER DE FACTO AGENDA. THEY ANTICIPATE THE PARTICPATION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF STATES IN THE GENERAL DEBATE, AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS WILL INTRODUCE DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES IN PLENARY. THEY ALSO ANTICIPATE THAT THERE WILL BE SOME ATTENDANCE BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY BELIEVE IT MAY WELL BE NECESSARY FOR THE ASSEMBLY, AS IT DOES IN ITS REGULAR SESSIONS, TO DISCUSS THESE PROPOSALS OR INITIATIVES IN A COMMITTEE FRAMEWORK, AND FOR THE SSOD TO DEAL IN SOME FASHION WITH THESE INITIATIVES. THIS LIES BEHIND THE EFFORT THAT SOME DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE FOR A LONGER RATHER THAN

SHORTER SESSION.

6. DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS GROWING AWARENESS AMONG WESTERN DELEGATIONS THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO TAKE A CLEAR POSITION ON THE DEMAND OF THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP THAT THE SSOD RECOGNIZE A LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT. THE NORDIC COUNTRIES HAVE INTRODUCED A JOINT WORKING PAPER PROPOSING A NEW UN STUDY OF THE DISARMAMENT-DEVELOPMENT RELATIONSHIP (A/AC.187/80, AUGUST 31, 1977). THIS IS AN ISSUE TO WHICH US DELS BELIEVE WE WILL HAVE TO GIVE FUTURE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

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7. SSOD DOCUMENTS. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS INDICATE TWO APPROACHES TO THE FORMAT OF THE SPECIAL SESSION DOCUMENTS: (A) SOME DELS ENVISAGE TWO OR THREE DOCUMENTS ON THE MAIN AGENDA ITEMS - THE DECLARATION, THE PROGRAM OF ACTION AND MACHINERY/FORUMS; (B) THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE A SINGLE COMPREHENSIVE DOCUMENT ENCOMPASSING ALL THESE ITEMS. MEXICAN REP GARCIA ROBLES, IN THE LENGTHIEST PUBLIC PRESENTATION ON THIS SUBJECT, HAS SUGGESTED A SINGLE DOCUMENT IN WHICH THE SECTIONS WOULD HAVE A LOGICAL INTER- CONNECTION: A PREAMBLE OUTLINING THE PRESENT SITUATION AND HISTORY OF DISARMAMENT EFFORTS, THE DECLARATION OUTLINING PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, AND A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOCUSED ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF HIGH-PRIORITY NEAR-TERM OBJECTIVES AND POSSIBLE INCLUDING DECISIONS ON MACHINERY. AS REGARDS THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF THESE TEXTS, THE IRANIAN

DEL HAS PROPOSED THAT THE PREPCOM DECIDE TO ESTABLISH TWO OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUPS, ONE OF WHICH WOULD DRAFT THE PREAMBLE AND DECLARATION AND THE OTHER THE PROGRAM OF ACTION. WE ARE INCLINED TO FAVOR A SINGLE WORKING GROUP. IN OUR VIEW A SINGLE GROUP WORKING SEQUENTIALLY ON THE DRAFTING OF THE DOCUMENTS WOULD BE MORE EFFICIENT, AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WOULD OBLIVIATE THE PROBLEMS OF COORDINATING THE EFFORT OF TWO GROUPS, AND OF FINDING APPROPRIATE CHAIARMEN.

8. FOLLOW-UP MACHINERY. DELEGATIONS HAVE ALSO BEEN EXCHANGING INFORMAL VIEWS ON THE ISSUES OF FORUMS AND MECHANISMS TO MONITOR AND/OR IMPLEMENT WHATEVER RECOMMENDATIONS EMERGE FROM THE SPECIAL SESSION. THE SOVIETS/EAST EUROPEANS ARE PUSHING FOR A WDC. THE NON-ALIGNED APPEAR TO SUPPORT A SECOND SPECIAL SESSION, ALTHOUGH MANY OF THEM MAY BE WILLING TO SUPPORT OR AT LEAST UNWILLING TO OBJECT PUBLICLY TO THE SOVIET WDC PROPOSAL. GARCIA ROBLES HAS PROPOSED IN PLENARY THAT SSOD II BE CONVENED THREE YEARS AFTER SSOD I, IE, IN 1981. HE ALSO HAS SUGGESTED THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUBSIDIARY UNGA BODY TO MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION OF SSOD DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. IN ADDITION, HE BELIEVES THAT THE FIRST COMMITTEE OUGHT TO EXAMINE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SPECIAL SESSION THROUGH PRESENTATION OF ANNUAL RESOLUTIONS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE FORESEE A TUG OF WAR DEVELOPING BETWEEN PROPONENTS OF A WDC AND SSOD II.

9. THE DIVERGENCES WHICH HAVE SUFACED WITHIN AND AMONG THE REGIONAL GROUPS, OR WHICH ARE LURKING BELOW THE SURFACE, INDICATE DIFFERING CONCEPTIONS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION BETWEEN THOSE WHO FAVOR A DAMAGE-LIMITING APPROACH AND THOSE WHO REGARD IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE A FRESH MOMENTUM TO DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. THESE MAY BECOME MORE PRONOUNCED IN THE NEXT PREPCOM WHICH PRESUMABLY WILL ENGAGE IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS.

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